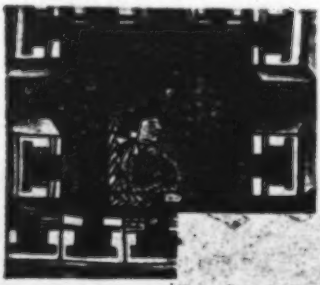
1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division



Rich Man

[482]

Poor Man

Beggar Man

[735]

Goldsmith

Thief

[326]

[685]

Feather Worker

[286]

[701
441
714]

Warriors

[P. 112(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

[622
441]

THE CODEX FLORENTINO

expressed in our nursery rhyme: "Rich man, poor man . . ." various other activities, caught with a fresh and humorous eye. Although some of the background details indicate that Spanish influence was already strongly felt a generation after the Conquest, the general details disclose a strong persistence of the Aztec way of life.

[441]

Chief

[463]

Merchant

Lawyer

Women

Doctor

[759]

Sailor, brewer

[502
501]

Ant Bite

[p. 112 (c)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was beginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and ornaments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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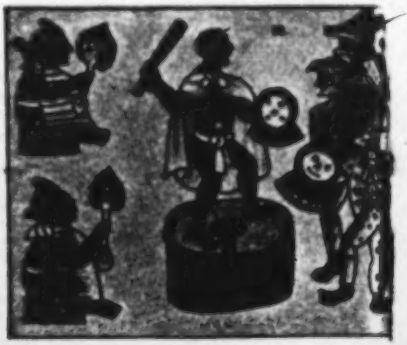

PLATE 60

AZTEC RELIGION

TOP: *Left:* Priests and laymen sacrifice two victims in honor of the War God. *Right:* War captive on sacrificial stone defends himself against members of the warrior orders. BOTTOM: *Left:* Sacrificial knife with mosaic handle representing an Eagle Knight, in the British Museum. These pictures from the Codex Florentino reveal the technique of using a stone knife to make a deep enough incision to reach the heart and tear it out. *Right:* Sacrifice to the Sun.

411
532
782

[P. 176(D)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

the executive officials of the tribe in peacetime became its military officers in time of war. There was no distinction made between the civil and military offices, since the tribe operated as an entity in both peace and war, and standing armies did not exist. (See Plate 34, bottom right.)

The soldiers were the able-bodied men of the tribe. The *telpuchcalli*, houses of youth, through which boys passed at the age of fifteen for formal instruction in the duties of manhood, taught them the usage of different weapons. Drill, in the sense of the accurate movements of modern troops, did not exist, but the great monthly ceremonies called for military demonstrations in which warriors showed their abilities and performed sham maneuvers. Each recruit followed an experienced warrior in battle, much as a mediaeval squire served an apprenticeship to a knight in full standing.

The chief offensive arms were wooden clubs, edged with sharp blades of obsidian, and the javelin, hurled by means of the *atl-atl*. Bows and arrows were used, but the heavier javelins were preferred for the close fighting of Aztec warfare. Slings and spears were weapons favored by some. For defensive armor shields of wickerwork covered with hide were most commonly in use, and some were elaborately painted or covered with feathers. The Aztecs also developed a body armor of quilted cotton, soaked in brine, which covered the whole body like an old-fashioned union suit. This was so effective a protection against clubs and missiles that the Spaniards rapidly adopted it, extolling it as cooler and lighter than steel armor.[7] Some warriors wore wooden helmets, which were elaborately carved to represent the insignia of the military orders. These had decorative rather than defensive values and added to the richness of costumes worn

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

1. Marginal notation: *Nouember los dize mx.*

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Mixcoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

Quando hazian las saetas por espacio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas sienes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias para yr a caçar venados: los que no se sangrauan, tomauanlès las mantas en pena: njngun hombre se echaua con su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni viejas beujan pulcre: porque hazian penjtencia.

Acabados los quatro dias en que hazian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas saetas chiquitas y atauanlas de quatro en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas sobre los sepulchros de los muertos: pon- jan tambien juntamente con las saetas y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, ciervos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorrallos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

[as an offering], and afterwards drank it with a long hollow gourd.

Then still another man, [a priest,] came out and cut the throat of a quail for the captive, him who was to be offered as a sacrifice; and when he had beheaded the quail, he raised [to the sun] the captive's shield, and cast the quail away, behind him.

Having done this, then they made [the captive] climb upon the round sacrificial stone; and when they had lifted him on the offering-stone, the wolf [priest] came to him, representing [a wolf], and known as "Old Wolf."[18] [He came forth] as the uncle of the captive destined for the sacrifice.

Then he took the rope holding the captive, which reached and was attached to the center [of the stone]; then he tied it about the waist[19] of the captive. And he gave him a war club, decked with feathers and not set with obsidian blades.

And he placed before him four pine cudgels, his missiles,[20] with which to lay about him, with which to defend himself. And the captor, when he had left his prisoner on the offering-stone, thereupon went away [to the place where] he had stood [before]. He stood dancing, looking upon, and studying, his captive.

Then [the fight] was begun; the contest [was started]. Carefully they studied where they would smite him in a dangerous place, and cut him—perchance the calf of the leg, or the thigh, or his head, or his middle.

And if some captive was valiant and courageous, with great difficulty he surpassed [his adversary]. He met and fought all four of the ocelot and eagle [warriors]. And if they could not weaken him, then came one who was left-handed. He then wounded his arm and threw him flat upon the surface. This one appeared as [the god] Opochtli. And although the captive might falter and faint, yet he acquitted himself as a man.

And when one went faltering, sinking down on all fours, reeling and overcome in the fray, uselessly and vainly holding the war club, which they snatched from him, thus his adversaries contended with him. And this useless one could now no longer do more;

njman oc no ce tlacatl oallauh, çolin quicotonjlia, in malli, in oaoantli, yn oconquechcoton çolin, conjaujlia yn ichimal malli: Auh in çolli, icampa conmaiauj.

In ie iuhquj, njman contlecauja in temalacaticpac: auh yn oconquetzque temalacac, çe tlacatl cujtlachtli ipan quiça, ipan mixeoa, itoca cuitlachueue, iuhqujn intla catca in oaoanti:

njman cónana, in tonacamecatl, yn iiolloco antica, yn iiolloco ilpitica, njman ic concujtlalpia in malli, yoan conmaca; maquaujtl, tlapotonilli, amo itztzo.

Yoan ixpan contema nauhtetl ocotzontetl itlamotlaia, ic temotlaz ic momapatlaz. Auh in tlamanj yn oconcaoato ymal temalacac: njman ie ic vitz, vncan oalmoquetza yn icaia, mihtotiticac, ixquichcapa ontlachixticac, yn jmal conitzicac:

njman ic mopeoaltia, motlatlaichecalhuja, motlachecalhuja, vel qujnmottilia in canjn ymoujcan moujtequizque, qujmotequjlizque: yn aço in cotzco, anoço in metzpan, anoço in quappa, anoço in tlacotiian.

Auh yn aca malli, iolchicaoac, iollotlapaliuj, vel yujujh in qujcaoa: in naujxtin qujnnamjquj, qujnmaixtlacoa, yn ocelo in quaquauhti. Auh intlaca uel qujhiiocaoaltia, njman oiauh, opuchmaie, qujn iehoatl qujmamimictia, qujmaiauj, qujtentimaiauj: injn ipan mixeoaia in opuchtli. Auh intlanel ie çotlaoa, intlanel ie ihiiocaoa, no çan oaloqujcheoa: noma oqujcheoa, in oaoantli.

Auh in aca ça çotlaoatiuh, ça xonauhtiuh, iolmictiuh, ça tlapolotiuh: ça nen panca, ça nen pictli in qujcujxiuetzi, yn imaquauh: ic qujoalnamjquj, in qujoaouna, in tlaoaoanquj. Auh in neh aca, aoctle conchioa, aoctle onmaitia, aoctle ic oalmomapatla,

18. "Tenía este de los cuarenteses, o mejoreros del templo, cuidado con un cuero de coss"—corresponding Spanish text. *Cuarenteses* is loose translation, according to Simeón (*op. cit.*); figuratively, *hermano bermejo*, *insípido* (citing Olmos: *Grammaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine*). *Jefes tenedores cuarenteses* as kinkajou, in *Rimas Kapital*, pp. 69, 73, and *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 89, and Vol. IV, p. 18. In that last reference, he identifies it as a symbol of the brave warrior.

19. Tied to the captive's ankle, according to Durán, *loc. cit.*

20. In *loc. cit.*, and later (p. 284), described more precisely specify "*quatro palotes, hechos de palo de tea*," and "*quatro troços de palo de tea.*" The captive first threw the balls, and then used his club.

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *maguey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *anecuiuti*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *teomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[13] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopuchtli: vncan ni vitznaoac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia: [796]

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhqujn cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon: [778] [352] [332]

mjchioauhtzoalli, ynjc qujpepechoaia, yn jmizqujo, ca mizqujquaujtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa catca, yn oqujpepechoque: [824]

njman ie ic qujmamaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlacoaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhqujn cuechintli: [292]

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli eztlapanquj: [293] [237]

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli: [237]

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchioauhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quezcpolli, omjcicujlli, tlanitztli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli catca. [532]

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlacoaqualo:

yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl: [289] [292]

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc qujnapaloa: çan ic muchioaia injc qujnapalozque, ynjc monapaloz ymaxtli: [411]

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc cecnj, vel yiacac, ynjc vecan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jmamazçocan: [411] [237]

13. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 60, 72 esp. In the Pedrendo edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Seler defines *quauhamatl* as "*la materia suministrada por la capa de liber de algunos árboles de género ficus. Servía de papel para los gentiles o los libros, y de tela para hacer las cobertas, cortinas y otros objetos que el culto de los dioses requería.*"

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

X796
532
714
411
292

[415]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1-7. Tlacaxipeualiztli (Chapter 21)

[p. 102 D]

3: Sahagun M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

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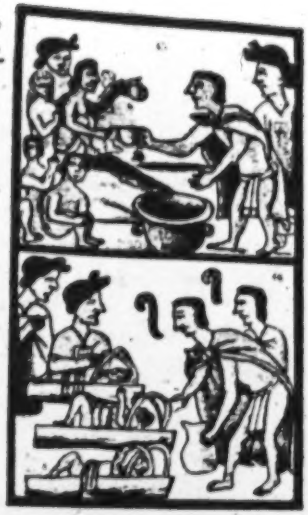


[415]

[854]

[411]

45.49. Ixcoçauhqui (Chapter 38)
50. Macuilcalli (Appendix)
51. Calpulli (Appendix)

[p. 102J]

796
532
[41]

(Diez Pasos y Tecuexpo

52. Tlamictiliztli (Appendix)
53. Tlachpanaliztli (Appendix)
54. Tlauauanaliztli (Appendix)
55. Çacapan nemanaliztli (Appendix)
56. Neçacapechtemaliztli (Appendix)
57. Tlatica tlauilizitli (Appendix)
58. Mexicatl teuhoatzin (Appendix)

[p. 102 K]

X 796 Thereupon they took him upon their backs and thus carried him up. And when they had gone to carry him up,[13] then they cast him into the fire. All at once the cinders shot up, billowing greatly.

And the body of the brave warrior then writhed; blisters quickly formed, and billows of smoke at once rose [from his body].

Then the old priests forthwith seized and drew him forth; they stretched him out upon the offering stone, and cut open his breast, splitting him open. Then they cut and tore out his heart, and cast it before Xiuhtecutli, the representation of fire. And in this same manner died all the captives whom Painal came to deliver up.

And afterwards, when they had slain the brave warriors, then all dispersed; all departed and went to their homes and feasted, and it was a day of rejoicing.

And [as for] Painal, his old [priests] then carried him; encircling and crowding around him as they went. They escorted him and placed him in his place, where he was guarded. And having come to leave him, then they descended, in order. And when they had arrived at the base, then they dispersed; they departed to their dwellings and there all ate.

And afterwards, when food had been eaten, then all came forth and assembled—all the men, the youths, and the boys, the small boys—those with a tuft of hair at the back of the head. All took their places.

[535] Then was begun the song and dance, at midday. In this manner was it danced: the serpent dance was performed. Between [the men] went the women, as hath been related. The courtyard was well filled, packed full, crowded; none could come out from the crowd; there was a great jostling of people.

And when they tired [of this], then all abandoned [the courtyard] and there was shouting. Then they hied forth to where stood the *xocotl*; there was much trampling; all hurried; there was a great press of people.

● [411] And the masters of the youths kept people away [from the *xocotl*]; their pine staves lay in their hands. They held not back as they struck; they held not back their staves as they laid about. And those who little by little, one by one, broke through violently, as [the others] held them back, thereupon all [these] pulled upon the ropes, the heavy ropes.

13. Probably *oquipanoquiuo* is meant.

ñjman ie ic iquechpan conteca, injc quitlecavia: auh in oquipantlacato, njmā ic contlaça in tleco, cēcalli moquetztivetzi in nextli, vel molonj.

Auh in tiacauh njmā ie ic cuecuepoca in jnacaio, aquaqualacativetzi, joan tletlecalcoativetzi:

njman ic conantivetzi, convilantivetzi, in quaquacujlti, qujoalteca techcac, coneltequj qujoalitlapana in jielchiqujuh: njmā ic concotona, contlatzcotona in jiollo; ixpan cōmaiavi, in xiuhtecutli: in jxiptla tletl: auh çan ie mochivi in momjqujlia in mamalti, qujnoalçaçaca in Painal.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in otlanque tiacaoan njmā ie ic tlaxitinj, viviloa viloa in techachan, tlatlaqualo, ilhujtlamacho.

Auh in Painal, njmā qujvica, cololhujtivi, qujtepevitivi, in jvevcioan, concaoa, contlalia in jician, in jpieloian: auh in ocōcaoato, njmā ie ic oaltemo, oalcenpantitivi. Auh in oacico tlalchi: njmā ic momoiaoa, vivi in inchachan ontlatlaqua.

Auh in ie iuhquj motlatlaqualoc, njmā ic oalhujloa, oalnenechicolo, ixqujch tlacatl in telpochtli, yoan in telpopochtoconti, in telpopochpipil, in cuexpaltotoneque, in cuexpaltzitzineque: ixqujch qujcencaoa:

in jquac pecalo cujcoanolo nepantla tonatiuh, inic netotilo, nococololo, intzatzalan mamantivi in cioa in juh onjto, in jtvalli vel temj, vel cacatzca, vel tzitzica, aoc vel tetlan qujxoa, cenca nepapatzolo.

Auh in otlatziuhque nimā ie ic necacaoalo, njman ic tlacaoaca: njman vmpa onxoquivi, in vmpa icac xocotl: vel nequequeçalo, vel netotocholo, vel nepitzmamalioa.

Auh in teachcaoan, tetzaqua, imoocoqtauh in immac oonoc, amo motlamachvia injc teviteqvj, amo ilioti in inquauh injc teviteqvj: auh in oqueztel, in oqueztcltzin in oquinpetlatiquizque tetzaqua: njmā ie ic muchi motilinja in mecatl, in vepāmecatl:

Each one stood saluting him, before whom lay all manner of arms and devices—the shields, and the clubs set with obsidian blades, and the capes, and the breech clouts.

They stood saluting him, and then each one stood receiving his gifts. They then went out where all adorned themselves, putting on the devices and insignia. To the great chieftains was given this costly array. And to all the common folk were given the Huaxtec devices.[14]

And after that, when this was concluded, when all were arrayed, then once more all placed themselves in a line before Moctezuma. Each one stood saluting him. Thereupon [each] came forward; [each] came up there.

And when the dancing took place, the handweaving dance was danced. Those to whom insignia had been given came there to display their devices. And the insignia which were given were like their reward, which served to bind them [to their duty]. And in this manner was the hand-waving dance: all were in columns, as hath been said; like flowers they moved. They went in glory [as] they circled the temple.

And all the onlookers, the old women—all the beloved women—burned with tears; their hearts were full of grief.

They said: "These are our beloved sons whom we see here; if, in five or ten days, word comes: '[We are] in flood and fire—that is, at war'—is it possible that they will return again? Will they find their way back? Verily, they will be gone forever!"

And [the wearer of the skin of the likeness of] Toci, and her Huaxtecs, and the medicine [women] went apart [from the others] and went dispersed behind [the dancers]. They alone proceeded singing, apart, singing in a high falsetto; like [that of the cen]tzontli [bird] they raised their [voices in] song. The hand-waving dance began at midday; and when it ceased, the sun had already set.

And when dawn broke, and it was already day, again all gathered, once more all dancing the handwaving dance, and none ceased, even once. For arms and insignia were offered to the noblemen—not now many, but a few. And they were bestowed devices

ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, ixpan onoc, in jxqujch nepapan tlaviztli, in chimalli, yoan in macquavitl yoā tilmatli, yoan maxtlatl: 796 [714 411]

contlapalotimanj, njman ic concujtimanj, ceceiaca in innetlauhtil: vmpa oniatimanj in vmpa nechichioalo, onneaqujlo tlaviztli: in vevei tiacaoan, in qujmomaca ichoatl in tlaçotlanquj: auh in ie ixqujch, ça tlacujtlapiloa, ichoatl in qujmomaca cuexteca tl tlaviztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ontlamoac, in ōnechichioaloc: njmā ic oc ceppa ōnevipanolo, in jxpan Motecuçoma: ceceiaca contlapalotimanj, njmā ic oalqujztimanj, njman ic vmpa oniatimanj.

Auh in jquac in ie netotilo, nematlaxo: vmpa oniatimanj in omotlavizmacaque, vncan tlaviznextia. [535] Auh in tlaviztli, ic qujmomaca, iuhqujn impatiuh muchioa, in qujmjliuhca muchioa: auh injc momatlaça tetecpātivi in juh omjto iuhqujn xuchitl mantiuh, vel maviçotivi, qujiaioalo in teucalli.

Auh in jxqujchtin tlatlatta, in jlamatzitzin, yie ixqujch tlacatl eioatzitzinti, tlachoqujztleoa, icnoioa in iniollo:

qujtoaia. Inin topilhoantzitzin nican tiqujmitta, intla macujl, matlac oalmjto, tehoatl tlachinolli, id es:, iaoiuti, cujx oc mocuepaqujuj, cuix oc ymiloch qujmioaqujuj, ca ic ceniazque.

Auh in toci, yoan ycuexoan, yoan titici, çan nonqua [533] mantiuj, iteputzco tepeuhtiuj: çanjioque in cujcatiuj, ynic cujca cenca tlapitzaoa, iuhqujn tzōtli cana incujc: in peoa nematlaxo nepantla tonatiuh, auh in necaoalo, ic oncalaquj in tonatiuh.

Auh yn otlatujc, in ie ymuztlaioc, oc cepa cenqujxoa, oc no nematlaxo, aiac mocaoa ca ça yiopa: qujnjquac motlauizmacaia in pipilti, aocmo mjequjnti, ca quexqujntin: auh in qujmomacaia, cenca tlaço- [714]

14) See Seler, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 1308. Seler mentions (pp. 131, 132) a pointed, cone-shaped hat; a disc or rosette fastened to the hat; a crescent-shaped nose piece; a golden ear pendant; and spindles. Either these relate to the wars of Axayacatl among the Huaxtecs, or else "the Mexicans wore [them to proclaim] themselves to be the servants, followers, likenesses, of the old mother of the gods, Teteo innan, the Huaxtec earth goddess, . . . mother and inventor of war, . . . who was supposed to be at home among the Huaxtecs, and perhaps was actually received by the Mexicans from them." [776 177]

Thirty-third Chapter, in which are described the feasts and sacrifices which they offered as a service; which they performed in the days of the fourteenth month, which was called Quecholli.[1]

The fourteenth feast day was called Quecholli.

When Tepeilhuitl ended, nothing was done for another five days. All was quiet.

And when the five days had passed, upon the next day all offered reeds [for arrows]; each seasoned warrior took a load upon his back (those of Tenochtitlan and those of Tlatelulco). They all offered the reeds at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had been offered, then they came carrying them and bore them upon their shoulders [to their homes].

And upon the morrow, once again all departed to the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, that the reeds might be straightened in the fire. The reeds were to be straightened in the fire. Only this did they do. And when they had straightened [the reeds] in the fire, again they bore them away and went off with their burdens.

And on the third day, [when] once more all departed, the canes were brought. All came together—seasoned warriors, youths, young men of marriageable age. And the small boys they took up [the pyramid to the] temple, where they sat blowing their shell trumpets and being bled. They cut their ears, pressed out the blood, and anointed their temples [with it]. It was said: "The deer are [anointed] with blood." They fasted for the deer, that they might hunt [them].

And when they assembled in the temple courtyard, those of Tenochtitlan were spread on one side, those of Tlatelulco on the other. Thereupon were made arrows. It was said: "They form the arrows, or their [bolts of] oak."

And when arrows were being formed, all did penances; all the men drew blood. And if any were seen

Injc cempoalli ōnatlactli omei capitulo: vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yuā in nextlaoalli, injc tlacotia: in quichioaia, in jpā ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl on navi metztli, in moteneoaia, Quecholli.

Injc matlactetl on navi ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa Quecholli:

in ōquiz tepeilhujtl, oc macujlilhujtl in aiatle muchioaia, çan oc cactimanj:

auh in ōquiz macujlilhujtl: in jmuztlaioc, vncā in neacamaco, cecen tlamamalli in conanaia tequjoaque, in Tenuchtitlan, in Tlatilulco: in neacamacoia, vncā in icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli: auh in ōnemacoc, njmā ic qujitquitzqe quiquequechpanoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, ie no cē pa ic viloa in jitoalco Vitzilobuchtli, tlatlemelaoaloz, motlemelaoaz in acatl: çan oc ixquich, in muchioaia y: auh in vmmotlemelauh, oc ceppa çan no oalmotquj, oc ceppa intlatquj oalietiuh.

Auh inje eilhujtl, no ceppa viloa, mootquj in acatl, vel ixquich cemolinj, in tequjoaque in telpuchtli, in tlapalivi: auh in oquichpipiltotonti, quitletlecavia in teucalli, vncā tlatlapittztoque, yoan mjçotoque: qujtequj in innacaz, in jmeżço compatzca, incanaoacā conalaoa: mjtoaia, momaçaiço, qujnneçaviliaia in mamaça, injc amjoaz.

Auh in ocēquizeato teuitoalco: cecnj moteca in tenuchca, cecnj moteca in Tlatilulca: njmā ie ic muchioa in mjtl: mjtoaia tlacati in tlacochtli, anoço yiaoaio.

Auh in jquac tlacatia, tlacochtli: neçaoaloia, qujneçaviliaia, ixquich tlacatl, mjçoia: auh in aquj itto,

1. "Precious Feathers" is suggested by Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 389). Clavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 147-8) states that the month was named for the kind of fine plumage seen at that time on the lake shores; Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 288) writes similarly:— ". . . *comulen de en Pauaro de plumas azul, y colorada, que al en este Tierra, en especial en estos mananziales, y ojos de Agua, que al junto del Pueblo de Quecholan*"; see also p. 299. Durán (*op. cit.*, II, p. 297) refers to Quecholli as *flecha arrojadiza*.

Tovar, while mentioning the kind of rich plumage, adds that captains raised their banners and performed warlike exercises. He describes it as a month of unrest and disturbance (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, nevermore restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with *maguey* fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] *maguey* plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet *tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

2. Cf. Sahagún (Kubnsle ed.), Vol. III, pp. 241, 299.

in amo mjço quipepetlaoaia, aocmo quimaca in jtilma, iccen quitquilia in tepãmanj.

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vctli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaoaltiaia, qujmocaoaltiaia in vctli.

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalqujça itamachiuhca, çan muchixqujch, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchixqujch, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac quioallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in quitlaxichaquja, vel quichtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica quitetecuja, inic amo cuitlatzaianjz in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, inic vel tilinjz, inic vel tzitzicaz.

Auh in ocõcencauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa.

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacuitlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocuitlalpia: auh in otlacenquiz, njmã ie ic õnnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantioa in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmomamanato, njmã ic viviloa.

Auh inic navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, ixquich tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj inic neaviltilo, tel iz neiciecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce veca quioalquetzaia metl, quimjmjna, vncan neci in aquiçque vel quimaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjna.

Auh inic nauhilhujtl, ça mjecaviaia in mjmjcque, quinchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjztitl, no achitoton ic conococtzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpiã ica potonquj, impã contetema, in vncan toctitoque, mjmjcque: yoan ontetl tzopelic tamalli, contetema, vncan cemjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic quintlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia:

X-796 came down from the top of the Temple of Uitzilopochtli, [which was] above. When he had come
[346] down, then he went direct to [the place] called the god's ball court.[9] Here they slew four victims—two [honoring the god] Amapan, two [honoring the god] Uapatzan.[10] When they had slain them, he then dragged them about the ball court. [It was] as if he painted it with their blood.

obuchtli: in ooaltemoc, mec tlamelaoa, in motenecoa Teutlachco: vncan qujmõmjctia navintin: vme amapan, vme vappaſzan: in oqujmõmjcti, mec qujnvivilana, tlachco: iuhqujn ic tlatlacujloa imezço.

And when this was done, then [the priest bearing the figure of Paynal] fled thence, being made to hasten greatly.[11] He proceeded to Tlatilulco, and then
[778] he went straight to Nonoalco. Here there received him [the priest bearing the image of the god] named Quauitl icac, the helper and elder brother [of Paynal].[12] His adornment was similar [to that of Paynal], but he was covered with chalk.

Auh in ie iuhquj, meč oaleoa, cenca qujmotlalochtia, vncan quiça in Tlatilulco, njmã ic tlamelaoa nonooalco: vncan cantiquiça itóca Quavitl icac, itepalevicauh, itiacauh: canno iuhquj in jnechichioal, tel çan ie motiçaoaoan:

And when [the latter] had greeted [Paynal], then [both] departed; they circled about to Tlaxotlan. Thereupon they went straight to Popotlan. There also they quickly slew victims—very swiftly.

auh in qconantiquiz, mec vi, vmpan ommocoloa tlaxotlan: njmã ie ic ontlamelaoa popotlan: no vncã ontlamjctitiquiça, çan iciuhca:

Then once more they went [on], straight to Chapoltepetl, passing before it. And when they came to the river bank, at a place name Izquitlan, also at this place they speedily slew a victim. He whom they slew was named Izquitecatl.

njmã oc ceppa ontlamelaoa, chapoltepetl ixpan quiça: auh in oacito atoiac, itocaiocan Izquiçlan: no vncan ontlamjctitiquiça, in conmjctia, itoca Izquitecatl:

Then they set forth, hastening over to Tepetocan; when already at the outskirts of Coyoacan, they then went direct to Maçatlan. Here turning back, they then went straight to Acacninanco.

mec vi, vncã quiztiquiça in tepetocan; ie coioacã caltenco, mec oallamelaoa, maçatlan, vncã oallacoloa: njman ic qujoalmelaoa in acachinanco.

And when they had reached Acachinanco, then stopped the rolling up of the paper. These began to roll up the paper when Paynal began to follow his path.

Auh in oacico acachinanco, njmã ic mocaoa in tlaamavia: in iehoãtin tlaamavia, iquac peoa, in jquac vmpeoa, vtlatoca Paynal.

And as for the rolling of the paper: The bathed ones remained in one separate group; those of Uitznauac remained in [another] group. [These latter]
[714] a number of warriors aided. Moctezuma gave them armor jackets of yellow cotton, and shields [painted with] wolf eyes. Only pine staves lay in their hands.

Auh injc tlaamaviaia; in tlatlaaltilti, nonqua manj: in vitznaoa nonqua manj, qujmpalevia cequintin tiacaoan: qujnmacaia in Motecuçoma ichcavipilli, coztic, yoan chimalli, cujtlachixxo: çan ocoquavitl in iñmac oonoc.

And [the warriors] who aided those of Uitznauac [bore] spears with which they battled and which they
[411] cast. And the bathed ones met them with only bird arrows, which they shot, with flint points. Verily, battle was joined; truly, [some] were slain.

Auh in vitznaoa qujmpalevia tlatzontectli injc tlaiecoa in qujtlaça: auh in tlaaltilti qujnnamjquj, çan totomjtl in qujtlaça, iacatecpaio, vel iauiotl in muchioaia, vel mjcoaia.

9. According to Torquemada, *op. cit.*, p. 282, the four slaves were sacrificed in a ball court (*teotlachco*)—not in the *barrio* of the same name. Two had previously been sacrificed in the *barrio* of Teotlachco.

10. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 210) apparently does not regard Amapan and Uapatzan as gods. See, however, corresponding Spanish text.

11. Though the Nahuatl text describes the movements of Paynal, it was actually a priest, who carried the figure of the god. Cf. corresponding Spanish text: *"Luego descendia en sumapa, con gran priesa trayendo en los braços, la estatua de paynal, encarro de Vitzilopuchtli."* This priest was dressed in the trappings of Quetzalcoatl, according to Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 282).

12. *"Alli le salia a recebir, el sumapa de aquel cu, con la ymagen del dicot Quauitlyeuc"* (corresponding Spanish text).

524 won' all the costly goods: golden necklaces, green
525 stone, fine turquoise, bracelets on which were round, green stones or fine turquoise, quetzal feathers, shows, houses, fields, precious capes, mats, large capes, green stone lip plugs, golden ear plugs, duck feather capes. And he who played *patolli*, who cast the beans, if there he made one [of them] stand, if the bean stood up there on its thicker end, it was taken as a [787] great omen; it was regarded as a great marvel. Then he won all the costly goods. [The other] lost even though he had not yet attained the specified number of thrown. Thus were all agreed; thus all came to the end [of the game].

526 They shot with bow and arrow—with a bow, with
● 411 a shaft, with bird arrows, with darts. With this be-
301 longed a bracelet on which were large, round, green
643 stones or fine turquoises. The ruler placed it about his wrist.

They used a sling, and cast stones with the sling. With these belonged a net for the small stones, rounded so that the small stones were polished. With [223] these they cast stones at small birds. They hunted with a bird net; with it they captured various birds.

351 Flower gardens were laid out; flower beds were laid out. They put in them all the various flowers.

522 There were their jesters who provided them solace
524 and gave them pleasure. And [there were those] who rolled a log with their feet thus bringing pleasure in many ways. Their deeds were laughable and marvelous; for with the soles of his feet one man [lying] below this did—he made a thick, round log dance with the soles of his feet [while] he lay upon his back and cast the log upward. With only the soles of his feet he did this.

517 Many things they did to bring men pleasure. There
732 were their servants, their pages who attended them
231 and gave them solace; dwarfs, cripples, hunchbacks, servants. They kept eagles, ocelots, wolves, mountain cats, and various birds.

oholinhoqui mocpa tzonxiqui, quetzalli, tlacoxi, calli, mjlli, tlaçotlmatli, pepechtli, veuej tilmatli: chalchihuitzontli, tezcacjlamacochcli, xonecujlmatli. Auh in aquja patoanj, in qujchaiaoa in etl, intla centetl etl ic tzopochtli, in mocpetzticac etl, in vmpa ic tzinmjmjltic: ceuca tetzauhmachoia, ceuca tlamauiçoltli ipan mottaia: ninoan mochi quitlanj, in juquich tlaçotli, in motlanjoa in macuel ximmo açi in quecuepjtetl aqujlli, inic nezcaoocuzalo, inic nezcapalo.

Tlatlamjna tlauiçolica, tiponica, tecomjcica, tlacochtica: ilauiçallo, mazopetztli ipan ca, uei chalchiuitl, ololinhoqui, anoço tzuiuiqui in jmaquechtlan quitlalia tlaçoanj.

Tlatlacalaoaia, tlatlamotla ican tlacalhoatli, injcallo telolomatlal mjmjltic inic mopetlaoa telolodi, ic quimotla tepitoton tzotzon, tlatlapechmatlauja in jca tzotzomatlatl: inic quimaçi nepapan tozone,

monochimjltia, monochitepantia, caquja, in jaquich nepapan xochitl,

vncatca intetlaveuetzquijcaoaoan in quimellelquiztiaia, in quiçaccmelcia: ioan quauhcacauhoque in quipaquiltia mjtec tlamantli in jutlachial tezcatzquiti, ioan mauiztic, in jca itocpal tlanjpa inic tlamati ça tlacatl, tomaoac in quemmjmjlli in quiçaoia ica itocpal aquetztoc acopa in conmiauj quaxmjmjlli ça ichoaoi in itocpal ic tlamati,

mjtec tlamiloli, in tzaccemelti in quichiaia, vncatca imaochoaa, inoloaa in quimuicatinemca in quimelellelquiztiaia, tzapaoac, villaoac, tepotzoaoac, tzachoac, quimpiaia quaquaubti, ocelome, cuicuitlachtin, occochtin, nepapan tzoal.

2. The Real Academia de la Historia MS reads quiltaoloo (he required) instead of quiltaoltia.

The white demon of the air was of gold, and had quetzal feather balls.

The yellow, Huaxtec, pointed, conical cap had a golden [disc] in front and was girt with quetzal feathers. And the shirt was of yellow parrot feathers [decorated with] hawk scratches. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; gold were his ear pendants, with quetzal feather spindles.

The white, Huaxtec, pointed, conical, paper cap had quetzal feathers bound at the base and a [disc] of gold at the front; its spindles were of quetzal feathers and gold. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate, and gold were his ear pendants.

[For] the bi-colored Huaxtec, the shirt was half blue and half yellow. His conical, pointed cap was also bi-colored—half blue and half yellow, and it had quetzal feathers girt at the base and a golden [disc] at the front. Gold was his crescent-shaped nose plate; his ear pendants were gold; and his spindles were of quetzal feathers.

The golden conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups. The silver conical cap had quetzal feather tufts held in cups.

[There were] shell trumpets and clay pipes which were blown in battle so that the warriors might set forth together to fight. The standard, [which was] of gold, and the quetzal feather banner dispatched the men to battle. When it was seen that already all the standards were raised, then the warriors set forth together to do battle.

The quetzal feather sun [consisted of] a golden sun, and in the middle of it was a circle of quetzal feathers. The young maize flower crest had, as its leaves, quetzal feathers, and [was ornamented] with flint knives [fashioned of] gold. On his temples went plate-like pieces of gold. The wooden sword [was provided] with obsidian blades [set in] a groove at its edge. The headdress of quetzal and heron feathers [ornamented] with gold, [had] single quetzal feathers, and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it. There was] the ocelot wine jar, whose foam had single quetzal feathers [set in it], and many quetzal feathers rustled [from it].

Iztac tzitzimjtl, coztic teucujtlaio, iquetzaltemal. 643

Coztic cuextecatl icopil ujtzauhquj, ixquateucujtlaio, quetzaltica cujtlalpic: auh in ecatl, toçecatl motlotloujtec, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol, coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal. 714 531

Iztac cuextecatl iamacal ujtzauhquj, quetzaltica cujtlalpic, ixquateucujtlaio, imamalacaquetzal teucujtlaio: coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl.

Chictlapanquj cuextecatl, çectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic in ecatl, icopil ujtzauhquj, no chictlapanquj, cectlapal xoxouhquj, cectlapal coztic quetzaltica cujtlalpic, ixquateucujtlaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jiacametz, ipipilol coztic teucujtlatl, imamalacaquetzal.

Coztic teucujtlacopilli quetzaltecomaio. Iztac teucujtlacopilli, quetzaltecomaio,

tlapitzalli tecuçiztli, ioan qujqujztli in mopitza iauc injc çemeoa iauqujzque, injc mjcali: in quachpanjtl, coztic teucujtlapanjtl: ioan quetzalpanjtl in teeujtia in iauc, in omottac ie meoatiquetza in jzquj quachpanjtl. Niman çemeoa in iauqujzque, injc mjcali, 534 727

quetzaltonatiuh, coztic teucujtlatl in tonatiuh ijtic mantiuh in quetzalli ioaltic. Xiloxochipatzactli, quetzalli in jizoaio, coztic teucujtlatl in jtecpaio, in jcanaoacân mamantiuh: coztic teucujtlatl in tlacomaltectli. Maquaujtl itztzo in jtenco tlatectli, quetzalaztatzontli, teucujtlaio, quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec quetzalli, oçelotlachicomjtl, in jpoçonca quetzalxixilquj: auh in jcuecuetlacacaio mjiec in quetzalli. 643 714 [411]

[p. 36 has no textual material]

532

[291
302]

[443
714]

[283
286]

[701
714]
793
411]

[723]

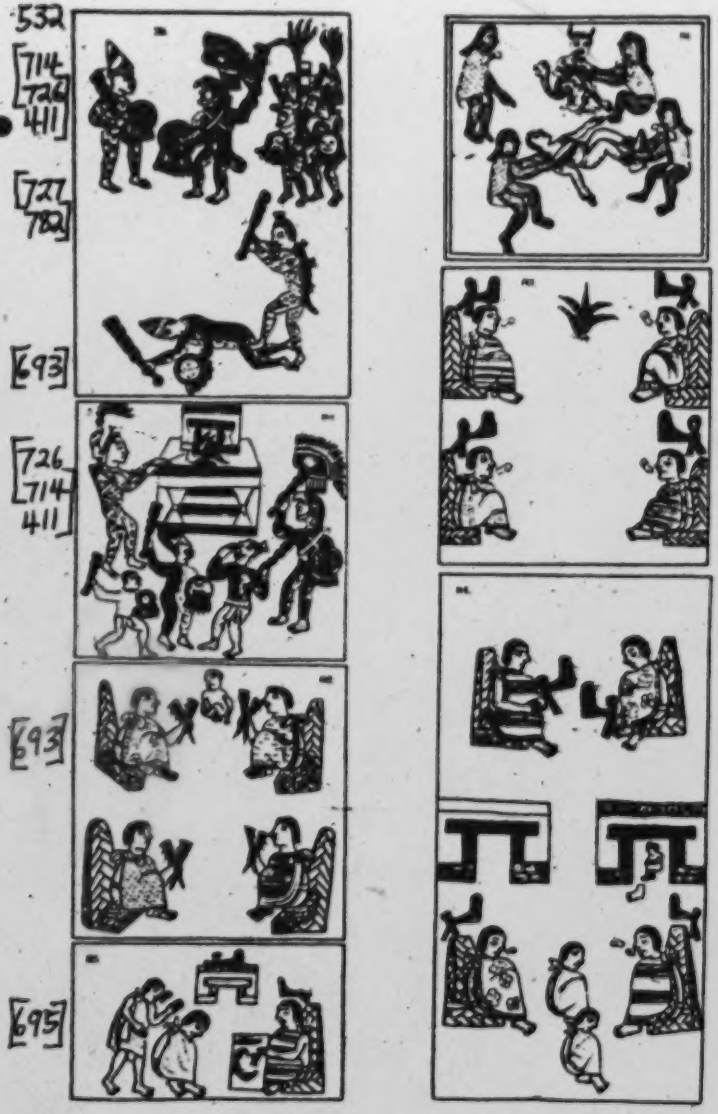
—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's array—*ixpalli, cueitl* (Chapter 15). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954
NU7 Aztec NU7



—Alfay Paso y Troncoso

79. Warriors in battle array (Chapter 17). 80. Conquest of a city (Chapter 17). 81. Sacrifice of a war captive (Chapter 17). 82-84. Judges (Chapter 17). 95. A trial (Chapter 17).

[p. 36(K)]

[p. 36(J) is blank]

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955
NU7 Aztec NU7

532
648

[714]

[141
482]

—*After Paso y Troncoso*

73, 75. War breaks out between the Spaniards and the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 74. Moctezuma is put in irons (Chapter 21). 76. Ixtlilxochitzin addresses the Mexicans (Chapter 21). 77. Mexicans are seen carrying furs into the palace (Chapter 21). 78. Ornamental design from Book XII. 79. Cortés arrives in Tenochtitlan with more Spaniards and allies (Chapter 22).

[P. 44 (L)]

726 Spaniards] among [the dead]; they went in among those who had died, only feigning death, and were able to escape. But one who stirred, when they saw him, they pierced.

And the blood of the chieftains ran like water; it spread out slippery, and a foul odor rose from the blood. And the entrails lay as if dragged out. And the Spaniards walked everywhere, searching in the tribal temples; they went making thrusts everywhere in case someone were hidden there. Everywhere they went, ransacking every tribal temple as they hunted.

And when [all this] became known, there then was a shout: "O chieftains! O Mexicans! Hasten here! Let all prepare the devices, shields, and arrows! Come! Hasten here! Already the chieftains have died; they have been put to death, destroyed, shattered, O Mexicans, O chieftains!" Thereupon arose an outcry, a shouting, a shrieking with hands striking the lips. Quickly the chieftains marshaled themselves; as if working with a will they brought the arrows and shields. Then the fray joined. They shot at them with barbed arrows, spears, and tridents, and they loosed darts with broad, obsidian points at them. It was as if a [mass of] deep yellow reeds spread over the Spaniards.

tique, intlan cacalaque in ovelmjcque, çan momjcanenequja, vel momaquixtique: auh in aca oc mopoçaoa in conjtta, conjtili.

Auh in jmeneço in tiacavan iuhqujn atl ic totocac, iuhqujn aalacatoc, yoan xoquijac eoatoc in ezttli. Auh in cujtlaxcolli iuhqujn tlavilanj. Auh in Españoles, novian nemj in tlatemoa in calpulco, novian ontlaxiltivi in tlatemoa, in açaca vmpa mjnaia, novia nenque, quixaqualotinenque in izqujcan calpulco in tlatemoque.

Auh in omachoc, njman ie ic tzatzioa. Tiacavane mexicae vallatotoca, ma nechichioalo in tlaviztli, in chimalli, in mjtl, vallacivi, vallatotoca, ie mjquj in tiacaoan: ommjcque, onjxpoliuhque, ommjxtlatique: Mexicae tiacaoane. Njmã ie ic tlacavaca, ie ic tzatzioa, netenviteco, iciuhca valnechicaovac in tiacavan iuhqujn nececenquetzalo in mjtl in chimalli qujiuquj. Nimã ie ic necalioa, qujmõmjna in jca tlatzontectli, in jca tlacochtli, yoan in mjnacachalli, yoan in tlatzontecrli, itzpatlacio in co. ..aça: iuhqujn cozpul ommoteca in acatl, in impan Españoles.

411

726 [411] Thereupon the war boatmen cast their barbed spears at the Spaniards. From two sides—from both sides—fell the barbed spears. And the Spaniards also shot arrows at the Mexicans; they shot iron bolts and guns. On both sides there was death. The Spaniards and the Tlaxcallans were shot by arrows; the Mexicans were shot. And when the Spaniards reached Tlaltecayoacan, there at the Tolteca canal,[4] there they fell into what seemed a deep chasm; they filled an abyss. There all fell: Those of Tlaxcalla and Tliliuhquitepec tumbled in, as well as Spaniards, and the horses, and some women. With them the canal was completely filled, full, clear to the banks. But those who came at the very rear, emerged and crossed over on men, on bodies.

And when they had proceeded to reach Petlacalco,[5] where there was another canal, very slowly, cautiously, and softly, with guarded measure, they set forth upon the wooden bridge. Here they recovered themselves, caught their breaths, and revived their valor.

And when they reached Popotlan,[6] it was dawn, and light was spreading. Already [the Mexicans] set out to attack: already they had been recognized from afar. And then they went raising a war cry against them and surrounding them. The Mexicans took after them; they took those of Tlaxcalla; and Spaniards were slain. And also Mexicans and Tlatilulcans were killed. On both sides was death dealt. They made the Spaniards leave Tlacopan; they pursued them. And when they advanced forcing them from Tliluhcan and Xoçotlihiovican, there at Xoxocotla,[7] there Chimalpopoca, son of Moctezuma, died in the fray. They came upon him pierced by a barbed spear, and wounded. Likewise Tlaltecatzin, [648] lord of the Tepaneca, died there. They had guided the Spaniards, and gone ahead to show them the route, keep them from wrong roads, maintain them on their course, and make the way for them.[8]

Thereupon they passed the Tepçolatl (a small stream). They crossed and forded the water there at Tepçolatl.[9] Then they climbed the embankment

njmā ie ic contlaça in acalchimalleque in tlaxcatectli in impā in Españoles: necococampa necoc in valhuetzi in tlatzonectli. Auh in ichoantin Españoles, no quinvalmjna in Mexica, quivallaça in tepuzmjtl, yoan in tlequjqujztli necoc mjtoa: mjnalo in Españoles, yoan tlaxcalteca: mjnalo in Mexica. Auh in Españoles in oacique in tlaltecaioacan in vncan in tulteca acaloco: vncan iuhquin motepexivique, motepexitenque, mochintin vncā onvetzque, onmotepeuhque in tlaxcaltecatl, in Tliliuhquitepecatl, yoan in Españoles, yoā in cavalome, cequj cioa: vel ic ten in acalodi, vel ic tzoncuh. Auh in ça tlatzacutiaque, ça tlacapan, ça nacapan in onquizque, in vmpanoque.

Auh in oacito petlacalco, in oc cē vncan icaca acalutli, çan jvian, çan matca, çan tlamach, çan tlamatzin in onquizque, in jpan quauhtlapechtli, vncan patito, vncan imjhio quicujque, vncā moquichquetzque.

Auh in oacito popotlan, otlatvic, otlanez, ie oquichcuhtivi, ie veca motlamatilitivi. Auh njmā ie ic quimjcaoatztivi, quimololhujtivi, intech icativi in Mexica, quimaantivi in tlaxcalteca yoā in Españoles mjctivi: auh no mjctilo in Mexica in tlatilulca, necoc mjcoatiuh, tlacupan quinquixtique in quintoca. Auh in oquinquiztito Tliluhcan, xocotlihiovican, vncan in xoxocotla, vncan in iaumjc in chimalpupuca, in jpiltzin Motecuçoma: in jpan quiçato mjntoc, tlatzōtectica, yoan vivitectoc, çā ie no vncan in mjc, Tlaltecatzin, tepanecatl tecutli in quinjacanaia, in quintlaixtlatitivia, quimotlaxilitivia, quimotequjlitivia, quimoquechilitivia in Españoles:

njmā ie ic companavique in Tepçolatl (cē atoiatoatli) vmpanoque, onapanoque, in vncan tepçolac, njmā ic ontlecoque in acueco, onmotlalito otoncal-

4. *Ibid.*: "*Entrão por ẽs. Peruando y la Brunix de los Mexicos e de ẽs. Alpellite*" (citing Don. Fernando Ramirez).

5. *Ibid.*: canal on Calzada de Tacuba — the next to last canal.

6. See map. Cuen (*op. cit.*), however, identifies it as the last canal on the Calzada de Tacuba.

7. Buenaventura, *op. cit.*, p. 122: "*el camino que va dela Tacuba.*"

8. In the Rubredo edition of Sahagún (IV, p. 73), the account, from Buenaventura's 1940 edition, is thus "*mataron dos hijos de Montezuma, el uno se llamaba Chimalpopoca y el otro Tlaltecatzi, los cuales iban guiando a los españoles.*"

9. Tepçolatl: a stream near Ocuzaltpulco (Buenaventura, *loc. cit.*).

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Aztec NU7

Thirty-seventh Chapter. Here is told how the Mexicans laboriously uncovered by night the waterways which the Spaniards had filled in by day.

Iaje cempoalli on caxtolli omume capitulo: 726
vncan mjtoa in ĉnin Mexica in cohuvitiuia in qujtlatlapoaia in atl in ioaltica, in vncan catzupaia Españoles in tlaca.

And our foes went filling in the canals. And when the enemies had gone, once more [the Mexicans] took up the rocks with which the foes had filled them in. When dawn broke, once again it was even as it had been the day before. Often they so did, where [the Spaniards] had filled in the canals — immediately taking up the stones, the wood, etc. — so that by a little the war was lengthened, and gradually [the Spaniards] broke through [the Mexicans]. For these canals were looked upon as great walls.

Auh in tnioovan, catzuptivitze in acalotli. Auh in 726
onoiaque in iavme ic no ceppa qujqujxtia in tetl injc 487
otlaatzupca iaume: in otlatvic ic no ceppa iuhcan,
in juhcan catca ialhoa: muchipa iuh qujchiuhque
in vncā catzupaia in acalodi, in çan njmā qujvalquja-
tiaia in tetl in quavitl. &c. ic achi vecaoac in iauiotl,
aiaxcan in qujovalpetlaque: auh in acalotli in, iuhq'n
vei tenamjtl ipan momatia.

And [as for] the Spaniards and all the Tlaxcallans, their common charge was the road, the highway to Yacacolco, and to Tlilhuacan and Atezcapan.[1] And Yacacolco, Cuepopan,[2] Apaxoxcan,[3] and Atlicuhyan, with which went Ayacac[4] and Totecco, were the charge of those of Xochimilco, Cuitlauac, Mixquic, Colhuacan, and Itztapalapan. It became their common task to give battle in boats.

Auh in Españoles yoan in jxqujch tlaxcaltecatl incentequjuh in vtli, in vei vtli iacacolco, yoan in tlilhoscan in atexcapan. Auh in iacaculco, in cuepopan, in apaoxcan, yoan atlicuhian injc iaticac aiacac, in totecco intequjuh muchiuh in Xuchmjlcatl, in cujtlaoscatl, in mjxqujcatl, in culhoscatl in Jtztapalapanecatl, incētequjuh muchiuh in scaltica in tlaiecouia.

And the boatmen and archers of Atlicuhyan and Ayacac girded themselves to come to grips with them. They lost no time. In truth, they were evenly matched. [It was] as if it rained barbed spears; like serpents, arrows streamed and poured. When they hurled them with spear throwers, it was as if a deep yellow mass spread over the foes.

Auh in atlicuhca, yoan aiacacalque in acaleque, 726
in tlamjnanj, vel muchicaoa injc quinnamjquj, amo
moquequetza, vel monenenuhcavia, iuhquin tzetze-
livi in tlatzontectli, iuhquin coatl motlamjna mopi-
piaoa in mjtl: in jquac atlatica qujtlaça iuhq'n
cenpul ommoteca in impan iuume: [411]

And a number of chieftains — the Tezcacoacatl Xiuhcozcatzin, the Tepanecatl Quequetzin,[5] Uitzitzin, and Itzcuintzin, people of Yacacolco, whose houses were situated there, neither tarried, nor abandoned their beloved women and children. With difficulty they went to bring them safely to a house by another canal which was in Amaxac.

auh in cequjntin tiacaoan in Xiuhcozcatzin quaquatzi, Tezcacoacatl, Tecpanecatl, Vitzitzin, Itzcujntzin: in iacaculca vel ipan mantivia in calli: amo moquequetzaia, amo quizticcavaia in Cioatzintli, in piltzintli, aiaxcan in qujmōcaltechpachoto in oc ce acalotli itech in amaxac icac.

1. A Aztec boarding slot of Tenochtitlan: all area now bounded N. by Calle de Mesones; E., Comulco; S., Cuepopa; and W., the block in Redondo and the water's edge. — Cano, op. cit. R. H. Barlow ("Los cuhs cronicos," p. 43) locates it "*entre la calle de Jesus Maria y de Gonzalez Bocanegra.*"

2. Cuepopan or Tlaquechihuican, an area bounded now, N., by Calle de Mesones; E., Gabriel Leyva; S., Pedro Moreno (once a canal); and Landa. — Cano, op. cit.

3. To the east of the Plaza de Tlaxcoaque. — Ibid.

4. Atlicuhyan and Ayacac were probably in the Aztec of Tolpochcalcatitlan. — Ibid.

5. Soler, op. cit., p. 775, groups the names and titles as given here.

-705-

726 soned warrior, a shorn one, named Uitziluatzin, placed himself above, on the roof terrace of the young men's house. Like a wall he now became.[10] Meanwhile, the common folk followed him a little. But the Spaniards then fell upon them and bore down on them, and thereupon beat, hacked, and pierced him. Then once more the chieftains set upon [the Spaniards], and they then quickly loosed the chieftain [Uitziluatzin]. Then they went to lay hands on him, but he did not, nevertheless, die. Then they went, and all was quiet.

And [the temple with] images of the devils [the Spaniards] then set fire to. They burned it.[11]

And the chieftains to no purpose came to hold their position. Yet [the Spaniards] shot no arrows at the women, but only at those who came out as men [of war]. And when all ceased, there was only a little sun.

And on the fourth day likewise it came to pass that our foes marched forth together. Wheresoever there were common folk, there the Spaniards moved cautiously. Very softly they kept going. And the chieftain and commanding general Temiloxtzin in vain opposed them. He took refuge behind a wall. [411] As an eagle [warrior] he stepped forth; he had his iron sword with him, with which he would cut them down. But when he saw that nowhere could he do anything, then he cast himself into, and made his way in, the water. There were great war cries. Then once again the battle engulfed them. Only there did they reach. In truth, all day did the battle last.

And when it had dawned, when already it was the fifth day, once again our [Indian] foes and the Spaniards made an assault. And all who surrounded us, in truth, marched together. They were around us, hemming us in. Nowhere could any go nor proceed. All were indeed compressed. All were verily crushed and trampled. And when they had come close among us, a woman poured water upon them; she drenched their faces; she dashed water into the faces of our foes.[12]

[693] And the ruler Quauhtemoc, and the chieftains Coyoueuetzin, Temiloxtzin, Topantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin the chief justice, Tlacoxtzin, and Petlauhtzin

tocac in macevalli. Auh in Españoles: nimã ic imp⁷ ommotepeuhque, inpan ommotquiquc: nimã ic ic quivivitequi, quitlatlapana, quitzeltilia: nimã ic ic no ceppa quivallasque in tiiacaoan: auh nimã ic quicauhtiquiztque in tiiacauh. nimã ic conanato, amo tel vel mjc, nimã ic iaque, cactimoman.

Auh in diablome imixiptlavan: vncan contlecavique, contlatlatique.

Auh in tiiacavan, oc nen valmomantivi tel amo ma quinmjna in cioa: çan ichoantin in oquichicativitze: auh in necacaoaloc ça achiton tonatiuh.

Auh injc navilhuitl çan ie no ivi in mochiuh cemolinque in toiaovan: in vmpa onoc macevalli vmpa tlamattivi in Españoles, cencan ivian in iativi. Auh in tiiacauh tlacateccatl in temjloxtzin, oc nen quiximopachiviaia, tepantli quimotocti Quauhtli ipan quiztlcac, itepuzmaquauh ieticac, injc quincotonazquja: auh in oquittac in aoccampa veli, nimã ic atlan valmomaiauh, axotlatiuh, cenca tlacavaca: vncan ie no ceppa motetemmã in iauiotl, çan vncan acito: vel cemjlhuitl in manca iauiotl.

Auh in otlatvic, in ie ic macuililhuitl: ie no ceppa vel quicêtlaz in toiaouh in Españoles: yoan in ꝑquich in techiaoalotoc, vel cemolin, vel techiavaloque, techololhuique, aocac campa vel huja vel nexoxocolo, vel nepapatzolo, vel mjequintin patzmjcque, nequequeçaloc. Auh in cenca ie in techonaci, oc civatl quivallatequja, quimjxatequja, quimjxapapatza in toiaovan.

Auh in tlatoanj in Quauhtemoctzin yoan in tiiacavan in Coiovevetzi in Temꝓoxtzin, Topantemoctzin, Auelitoctzin. Mixcoatlailotlactzin. Tlacuxtzin, Pe-

10. *Ibid.*: "es capitan que se llamaua Vitzilnaxtzin este mochoc soldados que estaua sobre las diputasas cendjaron a reuir [resistir] a los españoles pensjendose por estare para que no passasen a dicho estanca el rogano."

11. *Ibid.*: "y este dia los españoles pegaron fuego aquella casa en la qual auja muchas estatuas de los ydolos." See Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II — *The Ceremonies*, p. 168 (Conclusion).

12. Corresponding Spanish text: "los mugeres ninchiun peleauan sirgando a los contrarios con el agua de las acequias arrojandosela con los rostros."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia montesuma q̄ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[80]

Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[81]

13. Hueypuchtla

Sources of the Map

On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29′ of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

Mendocino	Millionth Map
Acayocā, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyā, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

Remarks on Towns

Atocpan has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[80] *PNE*, 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[81] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 643 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so [276 314] they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 212 289] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the 344 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte- ● 411

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. There were shields great and small, and a sort of broad-swords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up, so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

"I know well enough that as soon as you came here you opened the chamber and beheld it all, and that you sealed it up again as it was before. When you send it to him, tell him in your papers and letters, 'This is sent to you by your true vassal Montezuma.' I will also give you some very valuable stones which you will send to him in my name; they are Chalchihuites, and are not to be given to any one else but only to him, your Great Prince. Each stone is worth two loads of gold. I also wish to send him three blow guns with their bags and pellet moulds for they have such good jewelwork on them that he will be pleased to see them, and I also wish to give him of what I possess although it is but little, for all the rest of the gold and jewels that I possessed I have given you from time to time."

When Cortés and all of us heard this we stood amazed at the great goodness and liberality of the Great Montezuma, and with much reverence we all doffed our helmets, and returned him our thanks, and with words of the greatest affection Cortés promised him that he would write to His Majesty of the magnificence and liberality of this gift of gold which he gave us in his own royal name. After some more polite conversation Montezuma at once sent his Mayordomos to hand over all the treasure and gold and wealth that was in that plastered chamber, and in looking it over and taking off all the embroidery with which it was set, we were occupied for three days, and to assist us in undoing it and taking it to pieces, there came Montezuma's goldsmiths from the town named Azcapotzalco,[1] and I say that there was so much, that after it was taken to pieces there were three heaps of gold, and they weighed more than six hundred thousand pesos, as I shall tell further on, without the silver and many other rich

[1] Escapuçalco in the text.

13: Phillips U -4 (no date) 1925
NU7 Aztec NU7

325

Objects from Mexico

Locality	*Object*	*Copper*	*Tin*
Valley of Mexico	Chisel	97.87%	2.13%
Atotonilco	Hatchet	98.05%	1.91%
Tlaxiaco	"	99.61%	0.17%
Tlacolula	"	Copper	No tin
Oaxaca	"	"	"
Mexican	Bell	"	"

Other metal objects of Mexican origin yielded thus:

Currency hatchets	25 samples	All copper	No tin
Knife hatchets	5 "	"	"
Flat hatchets	7 "	"	"
Chisels	8 "	"	"
Hatchets	13 "	3 samples with no tin	
Lance points	7 "	1 " " "	"
Bells	26 "	Copper " "	

[411]

Some 28 objects, when analyzed, showed the presence of tin was intentional. Punches, lance points and needles were bronze, while money hatchets, and thin hatchet blades contained no tin. Of 108 samples of metals analyzed, only 38 contained tin. Lance points and chisel hatchets had from 2.13% to 3.4% tin. Two specimens of hatchets contained 9.3% of tin. But it is a question, were they of pre-Columbian origin or made *after* the arrival of the Spaniards?

From the analyses of the Mexican metal objects it is evident that tin was not generally employed for obtaining a hard alloy, which required about 10%. The small amount of tin usually found would rather indicate an accidental impurity in the copper than an intentional ingredient in the alloy.

That the ancient Mexicans or Aztec people were familiar with the metallurgy of gold, silver and copper, the process of hammering, fusing and casting, there is no doubt, and that they understood soldering and even the plating of gold and silver on copper is suggested by the specimens in the museum collections.

The Bronze Age as determined by analyses of the specimens described, is still a matter of doubt for the Aztec, and must

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Even ornaments and dresses were also preserved at some of those places.[33]

We may divide the *armament* of the Mexicans into weapons for offence and defensive armour for protection.

Among the offensive arms the *missiles* occupy the principal place, as we may infer from the general mode of Indian warfare, which consists in striking an enemy, if possible, from a distance, and with as little risk to the assailant as possible, too. *Darts* or *javelins*, *bows* and *arrows*, *slings* and *stones*, were therefore of primary importance to the Mexican warrior.

The dart or javelin (*"tlacochtli," "tlatzontectli"*) was the main weapon of the Mexicans.[34] It consisted of a short spear made of hard and elastic canewood (*"otlatl"*), whose point, shaped after the manner of the well known arrow-head, was mostly of flint, of obsidian, and perhaps, occasionally, of copper. This point or head was inserted into the stem or rod through a slit at its end, gummed in, and fastened besides by a strong thread wound around it.[35] The javelin sometimes had two or three branches with points, so as to strike several wounds at once,[36] the warrior often had it tied to his arm by a long cord, but sometimes, also, he carried a number of darts loose.[37]

49.) Bernal-Diez says that "mayordomos" had control of the "houses of arms." (Cap. XCI, p. 87, Vedia, II.) At their head was the "Petlacalcatl." "or man of the house of chests," from "petlacalli," chest or box made out of canes. Bernal-Diez mentions that functionary, but says they called him Tapia, his Indian title he does not remember (Cap. XCI). Each tribe subject to Mexico had a "calpixqui" residing among it.

[33] Tezozomoc (Cap. XXXV, p. 35, and LXX, p. 119).

[34] Tezozomoc never mentions the bow and arrow, but always "varas tostadas," "varas arrojadiças," "tlatzontectli." Rods hardened by fire were used *once* by the Mexicans, at the time of their most abject misery, when fighting for the Culhua against Xochimilco (Clavigero, lib. II, cap. XVI). Even the poor aborigines of the Lucayos (Bahamas) used points of fish-bone, and not simply hardened points of wood. Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[35] Gomara ("Conquista," p. 345. Vedia, vol. I).

[36] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII).

[37] It would be difficult, otherwise, to account for the number of darts "spent" in the engagements, had each warrior carried but one javelin. Torquemada (Lib. VI, cap. XXI, p. 43) mentions a sort of cross-bow (ballesta), which he calls "atlatl," by the means of which they are said to have sped their darts ("que tiraban con cierto artificio, que llamaron Atlatl"). "Atlatl," however, means a strap ("amiento") fastening the helmet around the chin. Mendieta says: "Al principio jugaban de hondas y varas "como dardos que sacaban con jugaderas y las tiraban muy recias." "Jugadera" means a shuttle. In his note to Durán (Cap. IV, p. 31), "inventando aquel modo de ar-"mas y varas arrojadizas que llamamos flegas." Señor Ramirez says "Refiérese pro-"bablemente al arma Mexicana llamada Atlatl, especie de ballesta, que segun la tradi-"cion fué inventada en Tacubaya . . . ." "Flaga" is a trident or harpoon. The use of the cross-bow, therefore, by the Mexicans, as the term "ballesta" implies, while

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

●411 Bows and arrows were used, probably, by every warrior, but they were a less *convenient* weapon than the simple dart.[38] The bow ("*tlauitolli*")[39] was made of the same wood as the stem of the javelins ("otlatl"), its length varied according to the tribes, but those of the Mexicans were short.[40] The chord was made
[237] out of the hair or sinews of deer. The arrow ("*mitl*") needs no description. Sometimes it was with several branches or heads. They carried the arrows in quivers suspended from the shoulder. Poisoned arrows were not in use among the Mexicans.[41]

Last among the missiles, though not least in importance, were pebbles and stones, thrown by slings or by hand.[42] The store-

we shall not deny it, appears to us not yet established as a fact. They may have had something similar to it, however, but it was no commonly used weapon, and we would beg to suggest that the "invention" of the "atlatl" at Tacubaya relates, not to the cross-bow, as Sr. Ramirez indicates, but simply to the "harpoon" (fisga) or javelin fastened to its carrier by a long cord. The Mexicans, besides, had a very characteristic name for cross-bow (Molina, I, p. 116). It is "tepuztlauitolli," composed of "tepuztli," iron or copper, and "tlauitolli," bow,—*a bow of* IRON,—plainly indicating that the weapon became known to them only after or during the conquest. Gonzala Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés "Historia general y natural de Indias," written towards the middle of the 16th century, but published in full only 1853, by the Academy of Madrid, gives (Vol. III, plate I, figs. 2 and 3) a drawing of an instrument used by the Indians of Cueva (Coyba), on the Isthmus of Darien, for throwing their darts. He says (Lib. XXIX, cap. XXVI, p. 127): "In some sections of the country the Indians are warlike, in other "sections not. They hardly ever use the bow, but fight with macanas, long lances, "and with darts which they throw by means of *estóricas* (a kind of *arientos*), a well-"made wooden contrivance. With this they hurl the javelin, always keeping the 'es-"tórica' in hand." The drawing referred to represents a wooden slide, shorter than the dart itself. The latter was laid on it. On each side of the slide there was a ring through which they passed the first and second fingers, holding it between and resting it on the palm of the hand. This gave them considerable accuracy and power in throwing the dart. An uncouth but very plain representation of a similar contrivance is found on plate V to the fifth chapter of the 2d Treatise of Durán, thus showing that the "atlatl" was nothing else but Oviedo's "estórica." Furthermore, Mr. F. W. Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum, identifies the "atlatl" in all probability with the "throwing stick" of the Aleutians of the Northwest, and still in use among them.

[38] Although the bow and arrow are a very deadly weapon, the *dart* was most convenient, and therefore most popular among the Mexicans; at least to open the combat (Mendieta, lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[39] Molina (Vocabulario I, p. 13).

[40] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Some tribes are mentioned as using bows 5½ feet long. The natives of Tehuacan are stated to have been extraordinarily good archers (Mendieta, lib. II, pp. 130 and 131).

[41] There is no trace of poisoned arrows north of the Isthmus of Darien. (See "Relacion de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila en las provincias de Tierra firme ó Castilla "del oro," etc., etc., "escrita por el Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya," in vol. III of "Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos," by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Madrid, 1829.) Also, Pedro de Cieza, of Leon ("Crónica del Peru," in Vedia, vol. II, cap. VII, p. 361).

[42] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Stones were picked up while fighting and thrown at each other in the field. Tezozomoc mentions "stones sent off with cords" ("con cordeles"), otherwise we have no description of the sling.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

houses contained supplies of slings ("*tematlatl*"),[43] while the missiles themselves were accumulated for defence on the flat house-tops,[44] or, in the open field, taken up "ad libitum" for aggressive use.[45] 411

Next in importance to the aggressive *missiles*, as weapons intended for *closer quarters*, were, to the Mexicans, the *sword* and *club*. The spear ("*tepuztopilli*"[46]) was probably not an *original* Mexican weapon, but, while they used it against the Spaniards towards the close of their defence, it still appears to have been most in use among more southerly tribes.

The *sword* ("maccuahuitl") was 3½ to 4 feet long, and 4 to 5 inches wide.[47] The anonymous conqueror says:[48] "In order to "make their swords, they cut out a blade of the shape of our *two-*"*handers*, but with a shorter hilt, and about three fingers thick. "They cut a groove along the edge, and insert into this groove a "hard stone, cutting like our blades of Toledo."[49] This stone was *obsidian* ("Iztli"), and the edge of the sword, composed of fragments "three inches long and two inches broad," became at the outset as sharp as a razor. These fragments were very firmly cemented into the wood, but, although the sword was double-edged, it soon became transformed into an ordinary club, since obsidian is very brittle, and splintered after the first heavy blows upon iron armour. At the *beginning* of an engagement, this weapon was much feared by the Spaniards.[50] The warrior carried

[43] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Motolinia (Tratado III. cap. VIII. p. 188). Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII. cap. XI, p. 187). The word "tematlatl" is difficult to etymologize. It *may* derive from "Temac," *in somebody's hands*, and "atlatl," *strap*, or from "Temalli," substance or body, and "atlatl."

[44] Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXXXIII and CXXVI). Cortés (Carta. IIIa. Vedia, I, p. 41). Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 373).

[45] Cortés (Cart. IIa. Vedia, I, p. 80). Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[46] From "tepuztli," iron or copper, and "topilli," rod or pole. The long spears or lances were mostly used by the inhabitants of Chiapas. During the siege of Mexico, the aborigines defending it used "long lances of ours, or scythes ('dalles,' spears), "much longer than ours, from the arms which they had captured at our defeat and dis-"comfiture in Mexico" (Bernal-Diez, cap. CLI; Vedia, II, p. 178).

[47] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Bernal-Diez (Cap. LXII and LXV). The latter calls them "espadas de dos manos."

[48] "El Conquistador Anónimo" ("Col. de Doc.," Vol. I, p. 375).

[49] See also Herrera (Dec. II, lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187). Mendieta (Lib. II, p. 130). Motolinia (Trat. III, cap. VIII, p. 188).

[50] Clavigero positively asserts that the edge was of *obsidian*, and flint could never have given such a cutting blade. Mendieta (Lib. V, Parte II, cap. VII, pp. 737 and 738) calls the sword "macana," and says it was double-edged: "cercada de navajas de piedra por ambas partes." The first blows were terrific, but only these, *then* the edge broke. See Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII, cap. XI, p. 187. "I enconan las Espadas de Palo

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

411 his sword attached or suspended from the wrist.[51] Clubs ("quauhololli") may have been also in use. But battle-axes, or anything like the Peruvian "chumpi," do not appear to have been known to the Mexicans.[52]

714 If now we turn to the *defensive* arms, to the *protective armour* proper, of the Mexicans, we meet in the first instance the *shield* ("chimalli"). Not the merely ornamental shields used and carried by warriors and chiefs on festive occasions only,[53] but the

"con agudos Pedernales, engeridos por los filos, . . . que dando grandes golpes no se "deshacia; cortaban en lo blando, quanto topaban, pero en lo duro resurtian, como eran "los filos muy delgados". Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). "The first blows alone "were fearful, as the edge soon wore out." (The name "Macuahuitl" may derive from "maitl," hand, and "cuahuitl," tree). The tables accompanying the work of Durán have many representations of the maccuahintl. The "handle" or hilt is usually formed by a ball or knob, sometimes by a ring.

[51] H. H. Bancroft (Native Races of the Pacific States of N. America. Vol. II, p. 411). If we have not heretofore quoted, and may perhaps not quote hereafter, this splendid compilation, it is merely because we revert to original authorities, and not at all out of disregard for the highly valuable assemblage of data which the distinguished author has furnished to science.

[171] [52] Mr. Bancroft has given a fine illustration of a club used by some of the Indians of the *present Republic of Mexico*. But among the Mexicans proper, the sword, "maccuahuitl," was the most common and frequently used weapon. Clavigero figures it like the blade of a saw-fish, with teeth; and Tezozomoc calls it "espadarte." But there can be no doubt that the intention of the Indians was to make a *continuous blade* (or edge), and not a *row of teeth*. (Along the sea-coast the "proboscis" of the saw-fish may have been *used occasionally as a weapon*, but it certainly never furnished a *type*.) The Peruvian "chumpi" was a peculiar weapon, and has nothing analogous elsewhere on this continent. It required both hands to wield it. An illustration of it is found in Herrera, Frontispiece to the fifth Decade, where the portraits of thirteen Yncas are given. Both Manco-Capac and Viracocha each hold a "chumpi" or spear terminating in a broad star, like the "Morgenstern" of the Swiss. Some authors persist in giving to the Mexican sword the name of "macana," but this word is not Mexican. Neither is it Carib. It was imported from the Antilles by the Spaniards, and is probably "arua." Von Tschudi "Peru. Reise-skizzen" (St. Gall, 1846) describes, vol. 2, chap. 7, p. 231, the macana still in use among the wild Indians of the Peruvian "Montañas," East of the Andes. He says: "the sword, macana, is also, like the bow, made out of the hard "chunta This wood is dark brown, very hard and heavy. The macana is four feet "long, one inch thick, and five to six inches broad; at the handle it is only three inches "wide and rounded, both edges are as sharp as those of a sabre." The same author describes also the club, "matusino," of the same tribes. It is a rough imitation of the "chumpi" of the Incas, deer-prongs taking the places of the metallic star. Its length is about four to five feet. Durán also has drawings of a *Mexican* club, corresponding to the figure given by Mr. H. H. Bancroft.

[53] These shields, richly ornamented with featherwork, were used at great festivals, at the dances. Illustrations are given in Herrera, Frontispiece to the second Decade, in Clavigero, and especially in the "Raccolta di Mendoza," printed in Lord Kingsborough. They were frequently sent as presents, and among the presents which Cortés received while at Vera-Cruz, Gomara mentions once twenty-four, and again five, of such shields. "Cinco rodelas de pluma y plata," and "veinte y cuatro rodelas de oro y "pluma y aljofar, vistosos y de mucho primor" (Vedia I, p. 322). He distinguishes them from the war-shield which he describes as "una rodela de palo y cuero, y á la re- "donda campanillas de laton morisco, y la capa de una plancha de oro, esculpida en "ella Vitcilopuchtli, dios de las batallas, y en aspa cuatro cabezas con su pluma é pelo, "al vivo y desollado, que eran de leon, de tigre, de aquila, y de un huarro."